1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
753 held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [177]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. 776

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for
685 punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a
273 son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
276 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they
828 pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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574 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a home, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ŋillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 578 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her acount with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 828 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

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867 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back;
868 and to follow these instruction until his father's death.

Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Alepúe schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Communities recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ŋillatun.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Since it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

●828 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

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be photographed and burst into sobs. Her father ordered her to face the camera; she refused to do so and continued to cut grain, sobbing. I suggested that a picture be taken another day, but the father would not hear of it. He spoke kindly and in quiet tones to the girl—he seemed to be explaining things to her. When she again refused, and now wept out loud, he walked briskly toward her, loosened a strap which he had tied about his waist and threatened to whip her. She then moved toward him, but continued to cry. Both got into a position of cutting grain and the picture was taken. The father continued to talk to the little girl in a more kindly tone but definitely one of correction. The following day the mother ordered the same little girl to fetch berets for the younger sister and brother. She did so, but threw them at her little brother and sister, instead of handing them. The father corrected her for this and then remarked to the writer, "That girl has been badly brought up. Her mother and I have talked it over. We do not like to whip her. We shall have to continue talking to her and threatening her. She is simply different from our other children." 828

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

As indicated above, children were taught the mores of the people largely by direct verbal instructions or by listening in. Often instructions were abstract; concrete examples were used when the occasion called for them: a cattle thief who was recently imprisoned was held up as an example of what not to do. Occupations and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders. 861

One unfailing antecedent to all teaching was, and is today, to order the child to give its undivided attention and concentrate on what it was being taught. The parent, or other instructor, made certain that the child had understood this, and did not begin to teach until the child was ready. This intense concentration holds for adults, as well: "When Mapuches really want to learn something, they concentrate upon it intently, and look at it all the while that they are learning it. And then when they have learned it, they will really know it." Having to repeat information is, consequently, resented. Informants, it was found, invariably did so with hesitation and annoyance (cf. p. 66). A non-Araucanian teacher said, "It is difficult to get a Mapuche pupil to recite a lesson that requires repetition, such as history or the multiplication tables. The answer always is, 'I have it inside of me; that is enough. If you would like to know it, you can read it in the book.' They are quite willing to write the material, however, and will do well when doing so."

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for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we danced?" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feeblemindedness was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian